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By SIR OLIVER J. LODGE

WE are each of us flying through space at nineteen miles a second, probably much more. Nothing is propelling us; we continue to move by our own inertia, simply because there is nothing to stop us. Motion is a fundamental property of matter. No piece of matter is at rest in the ether, the chances are infinite against any piece having the particular velocity zero; every bit is moving steadily at some given speed, unless acted on by unbalanced force. Then it is accelerated—changed either in speed or direction, or both.

As a matter of fact we, like other bodies on the earth, are acted on by two slight unbalanced forces—one which makes us revolve round the earth once a day, like a satellite, the other which makes us revolve round the sun once a year, like a planet or asteroid. Our annual revolution is not because we are attached to the earth; we are not attached, but revolve as independent bodies, and would revolve in just the same time and way if the earth were suddenly obliterated: only then we should find the diurnal revolution transmuted into a twenty-four hour rotation round our own centers of gravity, and the excentricity of our annual orbit very slightly changed. In any case there is no propelling force, only a residual radial force producing curvature of path.

A railway train, or a ship moving steadily, is likewise subject to no resultant force. Propulsion and resistance balance. The whole power of an engine, after the start, is spent in overcoming friction. The motion continues solely by inertia. Any steadily moving body is an example of the first law of motion. You need not try to think of a body under no force at all; you cannot think of such a body on the earth, but you can think of one under no resultant force, *i.e.* under balanced forces. Such a body moves by reason of its inertia alone. It is in equilibrium: it is not at rest.

But we have no sense of straightforward locomotion, and not the slightest clue to either the magnitude or direction of our motion through space. We can ascertain approximately

¹ Amplified from a lecture on "Ether and Matter," given before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, on February 28, 1919.

how the sun is moving with reference to our system or cosmos of stars, but we do not know at what rate that system is itself moving. For all we know it may be moving very fast: hundreds of miles per second.

We have a sense of acceleration however; we experience it in a lift as it begins to descend; and if the sensation is repeated often enough, as on a rough sea, the result is unpleasant. We have also a sense of rotation; we can tell when our vehicle—say a Tube train—turns a corner in the dark. Most animals appear to have a sense of rotation, apparently located in the ear. But we have no sense of direct translation; and we have so far failed to devise any instrumental means for detecting our motion through the ether of space.

The failure is not for lack of trying. Many experiments have been tried, but there is always some compensating effect; so we get no answer to the question—at what rate and in what direction are we moving? The best known experiment is that of Michelson and Morley, the result of which seems to assert that the ether clings to the earth, or that the earth is not moving through any kind of substance. But Fitzeau's classical experiment showed that a transparent body carried with it none of the internal ether of space; and experiments made by myself at Liverpool in the nineties of last century show that a rapidly moving opaque body carries no external ether with it, that there is no perceptible viscous drag or cling between matter and ether, and accordingly demonstrates that stagnation or absence of relative ether drift past the earth is not a reasonable explanation of Michelson's negative result.

The two experiments together, in fact, ought to be taken as establishing the reality of the most interesting of all the compensating effects yet discovered, viz. the FitzGerald-Lorentz contraction of all matter in motion, which the electrical theory of cohesion renders so extremely probable. It only amounts to a 3-inch shrinkage in the whole diameter of the earth in the direction of motion; but it is enough. This slight contraction or change of shape in moving bodies I regard as the definite and interesting compensating effect in this case. Incidentally, moreover, it establishes the electrical, *i.e.* the chemical, nature of cohesion. For given that cohesion is a residual chemical affinity—due to the outstanding attraction of molecules composed of neutral groups of equal opposite electric charges, brought so near together that the attraction between molecules is no longer averaged to zero—then, on orthodox Maxwellian

electric theory, a diminution of this force due to lateral motion is inevitable. And the resulting lateral expansion or longitudinal contraction, or both, is of the right order of magnitude. So this acts as a previously quite unsuspected compensating effect, which exactly neutralizes the drift effect otherwise to be anticipated. Thus, by superposition of two positive consequences of drift, the Michelson experiment, like every other yet made, declines to indicate that there is any drift at all.

Hence, after many such negative results, it seems to become hopeless to enquire experimentally as to our motion through ether. Unless indeed gravitation were exempt from the otherwise universal compensation. In that case the electrical theory of matter applied to the motion of planets might yield a residual result. But my recent enquiry into this problem has suggested that gravitation too is in the conspiracy, and in that case there is some ground for the contention of the extreme Relativists, not only that we do not know our motion—with which everyone agrees—but that we never shall know it: and, in fact, that motion of matter through ether is a phrase without meaning.

I hope we shall not too readily shut the door on further attempts in this direction; and as a conservative physicist I may be allowed to lament the extraordinary complexity introduced into physics and into natural philosophy by the principle of relativity, as so remarkably and powerfully developed by the mathematical genius of Einstein, with complication even of our fundamental ideas of space and time. The complications do not commend themselves to all of us, and I for one should be glad to return to the pristine simplicity of Newtonian dynamics, modified of course by the electrical theory of matter; admitting the FitzGerald-Lorentz contraction, and admitting also the variation of effective inertia with speed. These things do not destroy, but supplement, Newtonian dynamics. generalize it in a legitimate and intelligible manner. Such complications as these are clearly in accordance with truth and are to be welcomed; but the complicated theory of gravitation created this century by Einstein and developed by his successors, and the consequent overhauling of space and time relations, do not at present commend themselves to me, nor I think to others of what I suppose must be called the older school.

Meanwhile the full-blown theory has the courage of its conviction and has predicted a definite result, viz. the deflexion of a ray of light by the sun's limb, equal to 1.75 seconds of arc. The prediction is going to be tested during the solar eclipse of

May 29, 1919, between Brazil and the Gulf of Guinea. the issue be clearly understood. If a star-ray grazing the sun is deflected 3/4 second it will mean only that light has weight, that the wave-front not only simulates the properties of matter by carrying momentum—as we know it does from the investigations of Nichols and Hull, Poynting and Barlow, and others but that it is even subject to gravity. For this would be the angle between the asymptotes of a cometary orbit when the comet is moving with the speed of light and passing close to the But the principle of relativity—through the refractive or converging influence of a strong divergent gravitational field—demands a greater deflexion than this, more than twice So there are three alternate deflexions before us, to as great. be settled by observation:

1.75 sec.; 0.75 sec.; and zero.

Let us hope that the result of this or of some other eclipse-opportunity may be definite enough to discriminate clearly and quantitatively between these three alternative values; any one of which should be equally welcome to any lover of truth.

If the first answer is given decisively, it will be a conspicuous triumph for the theory of relativity, and will for a time be hailed as a death-blow to the ether. I claim beforehand that such a contention is illegitimate, that the reality of the ether of space depends on other things, and that the establishment of the principle of relativity leaves it as real as before; though truly it becomes even less accessible, less amenable to experiment, than we might have hoped. Nevertheless the ether is needed for any clear conception of potential energy, for any explanation of elasticity, for any physical idea of the forces which unite and hold together the discrete particles of matter whether by gravitation or cohesion or electric or magnetic attraction, as well as for any reasonable understanding of what is meant by the velocity of light. Let us try to realize the position beforehand; for we shall be handicapped in the progress of our knowledge of the relation between matter and ether until these fundamental things are settled, and until everyone agrees that the ether has a real existence. I want people generally to admit that the ether is itself stationary as regards locomotion, and that it is the seat of all potential energy; and further, at least as a surmise, that it is the medium out of which matter is probably made, and in which matter is perpetually moving by reason of its fundamental property called inertia—a property the full explanation of which must, I expect, ultimately be relegated to and considered as a property derived from the ether itself.

I call this lecture "Ether and Matter," but I might equally well have called it "Inertia," for that is the main theme with which I have to deal—at least in this first part.

Is there anything else, besides matter, which possesses or seems to possess inertia! Faraday discovered that an electric current had a property which bore some analogy to inertia, a property clearly depending on its magnetic field. Every current, even a convection current, is necessarily surrounded by lines of magnetic force, and when the magnetic field is intense the current behaves as if it had considerable inertia. Faraday at first called the effect "the extra current." Maxwell called it "self-induction." The latter is the better name.

To show it I start a current in a circuit containing a stout ring of laterally subdivided iron round which the current-conveying wire is wound, and I put in circuit an instrument which only responds when the current has risen to nearly its full strength. A current usually rises, what is called, instantaneously, but here there is a very noticeable delay between pressing down the key and the response of the instrument. The lag shown is only a second or two, but with care I can adjust it till it is a quarter of a minute. Such delay or lag in establishing a current would be fatal to electric telegraphy. In practice the delay is reduced to a minimum, by using its early values, and the actual response is exceedingly quick. Still, the law of rise of current is quite definite, there is no exception, it is only a question of degree; and the law is the same as that appropriate to the pulling of a barge on a canal. A barge gets up speed slowly, at a rate depending on its mass or inertia, and it ultimately attains a steady speed when the resistance balances the pull.

That is exactly the case of a steady current obeying Ohm's law, the E.M.F. is balanced by the resistance, the propelling force is zero, and the current flows by what we may call its own inertia—its own momentum.

To stop the current you must either increase the resistance or suspend the propelling force. If you interpose an obstacle suddenly, the motion stops with violence—a collision in the case of a train or barge, a flash in the case of electric current. This is what Faraday called "the extra current at break," and if you are holding the wires in your hand when the current is suddenly broken in a circuit of large self-induction you may get a nasty shock.

If you could abolish electric resistance a current would go on for ever without propelling force.

An amazing experiment has been made by Kamerlingh Onnes at Leiden, who first cooled a metal ring down to within four degrees of absolute zero by means of liquid helium, and then started a current through it by a momentary magnetic impulse. Instead of stopping in a minute fraction of a second, as usual, the current went on and on, not for seconds but for days. In four days it had fallen to half strength, and there were traces of it a week later. A most suggestive experiment as to the nature of metallic conduction, as well as a demonstration of the fly-wheel-like momentum of an electric current!

This electromagnetic analogue to mechanical momentum or inertia is explicable (or supposed to be explicable) in terms of the magnetic field surrounding the current, *i.e.*, really (as I think) in terms of a property of the ether of space. It exactly simulates inertia; but is it an imitation or is it the same thing? Can it be said that an electric charge possesses inertia in its own right, and retains it always, as matter does, whether it be moving or whether it be stationary?

The question was brilliantly answered by your Professor of Natural Philosophy, Sir J. J. Thomson, so long ago as 1881. He calculated the inertia or quasi "mass" of an electric charge

e, on a sphere of radius a, and showed that it was
$$m = \frac{2\mu e^2}{3a}$$
.

The μ need not be attended to now, though it is really the most important of all—being a great etherial constant of utterly unknown value²—but for our present purpose the μ merely signifies that the e must be measured in electromagnetic not electrostatic measure, when the formula is interpreted numerically with $\mu = 1$.

At the date 1881 this expression for true electric inertia, though an interesting result, seemed too absurdly small to have any practical significance. Take a sphere like a football, 20 centimeters or 8 inches in diameter; charge it till it is ready to give more than an inch spark, say up to 60,000 volts; then calculate the inertia or equivalent mass corresponding to the charge. If I have done the arithmetic right it comes out one-third of a millionth of a milligramme (3×10^{-16}). Absurdly small! Yes, but not zero. And whenever a quantity

 $^{^2}$ I have guessed that it is a density of 10^{12} grammes per c.c. $\div 4\pi$. See "The Ether of Space," Appendix 2; also the *Phil. Mag.* for April, 1907.

is not nothing, there is no telling what importance may not have to be attached to it sooner or later. Nothing real can be so small as to be really negligible in the long run as knowledge progresses. Something at present unforeseen may bring it into prominence. So it has turned out in this case. The infinitesimal result of nearly forty years ago to-day dominates the horizon. It was in some sort the dawn of a new era in physics.

Consider it further. Clearly the inertia depends not on the charge only, but on its concentration. The radius of the sphere occurs in the denominator of the expression. The same charge on a sphere 2 centimeters in diameter would have ten times the inertia; on a sphere as small as an atom the inertia would be a hundred million times bigger still. But then even that is small; moreover an atom could scarcely be expected to hold such a charge. Nevertheless, allowing only a reasonable potential, it might seem that atomic inertia could be sensibly increased by an electric charge. But no, even on a sphere as small as an atom the concentration turns out insufficient; the effect is still excessively minute. Yet as electric inertia at given potential depends on linear dimensions, while material inertia depends on those dimensions cubed, there must be a size when the two are equal, i.e. when one might account for the other.

Write the charge in terms of electrostatic potential V

$$e = KaV$$

then

$$m = \frac{2KaV^2}{3c^2}$$

where c is $1/\sqrt{(\mu K)}$, the velocity of light.

Put this expression for m equal to $\frac{4}{3} \pi a^3 \rho$, the ordinary mass. Then the potential at which the two will be equal is

$$V_1 = ac \sqrt{\left(\frac{2\pi\rho}{K}\right)}$$

which, for density of water and for sphere 10^{-13} centimeters radius, is two volts; quite a reasonable electrolytic value, such as is to be expected among atoms.

The moral of this elementary but not very satisfactory argument is that not for bodies of atomic size, but for something 100,000 times smaller in linear dimensions, is it possible to explain inertia electromagnetically. But, forty or even twenty years ago, one would have said—there are no bodies of this size; nothing can be smaller than an atom! The strange thing is that, as nearly everyone knows now, bodies of this size have

been discovered. They were isolated by J. J. Thomson in 1899, having been gradually led up to by Crookes's and many other experiments on cathode rays; and they are shown to be an apparently invisible unit or atom of electricity whose inertia is wholly electric.

The proof of this last statement I can only briefly indicate. It is established by the effect of speed on electric inertia. If an electric charge is moving with something approaching the velocity of light, its inertia increases without limit; and the formula given about 1889 by Heaviside, Thomson, and others, for electric inertia as a function of speed, is, in its very simplest form,

$$m = \frac{2\mu e^2}{3a} \left(1 + \frac{v^2}{2c^2} + \text{higher powers} \right)$$

The velocity of light squared occurs in the denominator, so, before we can observe the increase, enormous speeds are necessary. A cannon-ball, or even the earth in its orbit, is hopelessly slow; and we know no artificial means of getting up such a speed as this last, viz. about 19 miles a second. But fortunately radium does spontaneously what we cannot do, it expels electrons with something less, but not very much less, than the speed of light; and Kauffmann's measure of the mass of these projectiles, thus flying at prodigious velocities, confirms the theory, and removes any doubt as to the reality of purely and wholly electric inertia, for electrons.

Furthermore it was found that the very same electrons can be split off or detached from any or every kind of atom, that there is only one kind of negative electron; and though at first there appeared to be many kinds of positively charged particles, the evidence is tending to the discovery of a single kind of positive electron likewise; so it is natural to suppose that electrons are an essential ingredient in matter. And since they possess inertia, even those which are clearly disembodied electric charges, it becomes possible to surmise that in some sense, or in a certain grouping, they constitute the atom, that they confer upon it the inertia with which we are familiar and that in fact electric inertia is the only inertia that exists.

Electric inertia began as the simulacrum of material inertia, it has shown itself the very same thing, and it seems likely to end by displacing every other kind of inertia altogether.

This is the electrical theory of matter.

Assuming this theory for the present as a working hypothesis, we may say that material inertia is explained electrovol x.—26.

magnetically, i.e. is explained in terms of the magnetic field which necessarily surrounds and accompanies every charge in motion; since a charge in motion constitutes a current. on this view a material body is but an aggregate of such charges grouped according to some definite pattern, positive and negative charges interlaced or somehow intertwined, and so far apart in proportion to their size that they do not interfere with each other or cancel each other, nor apparently overlap or encroach on each other's field, to any measurable extent. For comparing the size of an electron this possible? It is. with the size of an atom we perceive that they are relatively of the same order as the size of a planet and the size of a solar So it becomes possible to think of an atom as a sort of solar system, with a positive nucleus or sun surrounded by negative electrons revolving in regular orbits round it.

On this view, or indeed in any form of the electrical theory of matter, the atom of matter consists mainly of empty space; in other words, it is excessively porous; just as the solar system is mainly empty space and may be spoken of as excessively porous; the actual material lumps being almost infinitesimal in proportion to the total bulk. A rapid projectile or a ray of light passing through the solar system would be unlikely to hit anything, the chances would be strongly against a collision. So also, if a point be thrown through an atom, the chance of its hitting anything is about 1 in 10,000. It might pass through 10,000 atoms before striking. This experiment has been tried, by C. T. R. Wilson and others, and that is roughly speaking the result. Sooner or later a radium projectile meets with an obstacle and is stopped, but it traverses a good number of atoms on the average; it traverses quite a perceptible distance even in a dense solid, before it strikes a nucleus.

Matter accordingly seems to me—to us I may say, for in this most physicists are I think agreed—a gossamer or milkyway structure, an impalpable accident in the substantial ether. Here a speck and there a speck, but, for the great bulk of it, empty space!

"Impalpable" is not the right word, for matter is essentially palpable. It is because it appeals so directly to our senses that we attend to it so vividly. It forces itself on our attention, while the ether eludes us. And why? Clearly because our bodies are composed—our sense organs are composed—of this very matter. On the material side we are part of, and thoroughly at home in, the material universe. Whereas the ether

is elusive; we know nothing of it directly; and though our eyes are instruments for receiving etherial tremors excited by agitated electrons, we only know that fact—or half know it—by rather recondite inference. Light really tells us nothing about its own nature, but only about the superficial aspect of that gross and palpable matter which has interfered with and scattered it before it enters our eye.

Nevertheless the atoms of this solid-seeming flesh and matter as we know it, when analyzed into constituents, are turning out to be composed each of a definite grouping of ultra-minute particles, the positive and negative electrons, which themselves hardly occupy any space (save as soldiers occupy a country), and which appear to be of two kinds only—the ultimate indivisible units of positive and negative electricity.